

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 001379

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO, UG

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS: MESSAGE TO IDI AMIN

1. USING IDENTICAL TEXT OF MESSAGE (SENT SEPTEL) FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO PRESIDENT KENYATTA, EMBASSY SHOULD PREPARE A MESSAGE ADDRESSED TO PRESIDENT IDI AMIN DADA OF UGANDA. MESSAGE SHOULD BE DELIVERED SOONEST TO IDI AMIN OR APPROPRIATE SENIOR UGANDAN OFFICIAL IN PERSON IN KAMPALA BY SENIOR EMBASSY OFFICIAL, DCM LINDSTROM PREFERABLY.

2. EMBOFF SHOULD ALSO PREPARE FOR DELIVERY AT SAME TIME AIDE-MEMOIRE USING TALKING POINTS PREPARED FOR USE BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELD IN CURRENT VISITS WITH CENTRAL AND WEST AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE, AS FOLLOWS:

TALKING POINTS FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELD'S TALKS WITH AFRICAN LEADERS

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1. MY GOVERNMENT HAS ASKED ME TO UNDERTAKE THIS TRIP
FOR THREE PRINCIPAL REASONS: (A) TO DISCUSS WITH YOU

THE STAKES WE BELIEVE ARE INVOLVED IN THE PRESENT SOVIET-CUBAN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH A FOOTHOLD IN ANGOLA:
(B) TO ASSURE YOU OF OUR DETERMINATION TO REMAIN INVOLVED SO THAT THE ANGOLANS CAN DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE; AND (C) TO EXPLORE HOW THE OAU CAN HELP BRING ABOUT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT SATISFACTORY TO ALL ANGOLANS AND AFRICA GENERALLY WHICH WOULD ALSO END ALL OUTSIDE INTERVENTION, INCLUDING SOVIET, CUBAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN.

2. THE U.S. SEEKS NO SPECIAL INTERESTS OR PLACE IN ANGOLA. WE HAVE NO VITAL STAKE THERE; ALL THAT WE WANT IS FAIR ACCESS ALONG WITH ALL OTHERS. WE ARE NOT SEEKING A FNLA/UNITA VICTORY OVER THE MPLA. WE ARE NOT AGAINST THE MPLA PER SE. WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE THREE FACTIONS RECONCILE THEIR DIFFERENCES PEACEFULLY WITH THE HELP OF THE OAU.

3. IN ADDITION THE U.S. AS A GLOBAL POWER HAS ITS OWN RESPONSIBILITIES. WE CANNOT VIEW WITH INDIFFERENCE A SOVIET POWER PLAY, SUPPORTED BY CUBAN TROOPS, 8,000 MILES FROM ITS OWN BORDERS WELL OUTSIDE ITS TRADITIONAL AREA OF SECURITY INTEREST.

4. FUNDAMENTAL TO SUCH A SOLUTION IS THAT THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND IS SUCH AS TO HELP PROMOTE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE OAU.

5. WHAT IS AT STAKE IS WHETHER A MASSIVE SOVIET INVOLVEMENT CAN BE ALLOWED TO IMPOSE A COMMUNIST-ORIENTED LEADERSHIP ON ALL OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE. IF THE U.S. WERE TO LEAVE THIS MATTER UNCHALLENGED, OUR JUDGMENT IS THAT SOVIET INFLUENCE WOULD INCREASE IN AFRICA CONTRARY TO THE NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE BLACK AFRICAN STATES AND WOULD HAVE IMPLICATIONS BEYOND THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA. WE KNOW THAT SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY -- WHICH MOST AFRICANS UNDERSTAND FIRST-HAND

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FROM DAILY EXPERIENCE -- SEEMS TO SOME AFRICANS EVEN MORE INIMICAL TO AFRICAN STATES THAN THE MASSIVE SOVIET IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION. WE RESPECT AND APPRECIATE THE STRONG FORCE OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM, BUT AFRICANS SHOULD REALIZE THAT SOVIET EXPANSIONISM, IF ALLOWED TO SUCCEED, WILL NOT BE EASILY REMOVED DESPITE THE FORCE OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM. WE WILL BE PREPARED TO USE OUR INFLUENCE TO END SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT WITHIN

THE CONTEXT OF WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTION.
WE ARE CONFIDENT WE CAN SUCCEED IN THIS.

6. THE ACTION TAKEN BY THE SENATE WAS REGRETTABLE.
BUT THE HOUSE HAS NOT ACTED AND THE CONGRESS WILL NOT
RETURN UNTIL THE LATTER HALF OF JANUARY. IN THE
MEANTIME, WE HAVE SUFFICIENT RESOURCES AND WILL
CONTINUE TO ASSIST TO ASSURE THAT SOVIET-CUBAN ARMS
WILL NOT RESULT IN AN MPLA VICTORY ON THE GROUND.

7. WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THIS AFRICAN
PROBLEM BE RESOLVED BY AFRICANS. THE OAU HAS A
MOMENTOUS, IF NOT DECISIVE, OPPORTUNITY TO ACT ON
BEHALF OF ALL BLACK AFRICANS, FOR AFRICAN NATIONALISM,
FOR AFRICAN SELF-DETERMINATION, FOR AFRICAN INTERESTS
GENERALLY. IF THE OAU, IN ITS JANUARY MEETING UNDER
THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF PRESIDENT AMIN, CAN DEVISE A CLEAR-
CUT AFRICAN PLAN FOR SETTLEMENT EVEN AS OUR ASSISTANCE
HELPS MAINTAIN THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND THE SOVIETS
AND OTHERS WILL NOT BE SO TEMPTED TO INTERVENE IN
THE FUTURE.

8. RIGHT NOW THE MAJOR TASK IS TO DISCOURAGE FURTHER
AFRICAN RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA. WE URGE YOU CONINUE
TO USE THE INFLUENCE YOU POSSESS FOR THIS PURPOSE.
IF THE OAU CONVENES WITH NOT MORE THAN THE PRESENT
NUMBER OF RECOGNITIONS PRESIDENT AMIN WILL BE IN A
STRONG POSITION TO LEAD THE OAU ON A RESPONSIBLE
COURSE FOR THE BENEFIT OF AFRICA AND YOUR OWN COUNTRY.

9. TO THIS END WE HOPE THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED WILL
TAKE A LEAD ON THE FOLLOWING IDEAS: A CEASEFIRE, THE
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CESSATION OF ALL ARMS SHIPMENTS INTO ANGOLA AND ANY
FURTHER REINFORCEMENT OF FOREIGN TROOPS, TECHNICIANS
AND MERCENARIES; AN AOU MECHANISM TO CONDUCT IMMEDIATE
DISCUSSIONS WITH THE MPLA, UNITA AND FNLA WITH A VIEW
TO BRINGING ABOUT A RECONCILIATION AMONG THE THREE
SIDES AND AGREEMENT ON A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT; AND AN
END TO ALL OUTSIDE INTERVENTION. FURTHER RECOGNITIONS
AT THIS TIME WILL ONLY STRENGTHEN THE MPLA'S RESISTANCE
TO NEGOTIATION AND PLACE IN JEOPARDY A JUST AND
EQUITABLE SOLUTION.

10. IF THE OAU COULD TAKE THE LEAD ON SUCH A PROGRAM,
WE WOULD HELP TO PERSUADE OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE
WORLD -- IN EUROPE, LATIN AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE -- TO
SUPPORT THIS PROGRAM. THE U.S. WOULD BE PREPARED TO

TALK TO THE SOVIETS ALONG THESE LINES AS WELL.

11. FINALLY, ONCE SUCH A GOVERNMENT IN ANGOLA WAS FORMED, THE U.S. WOULD BE PREPARED TO JOIN IN A MULTI-DONOR OPERATION FOR THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE ICRC. INGERSOLL

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